Implications of 'Quit India'

Reg. No. B 3092

HARIJAN

10 Pages

Editor : PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 9] AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, APRIL 7, 1946 [TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

Q. Horse racing is going on in many important cities. It is alike a lure for high and low, rich and poor, and it leads to moral degradation and in some cases penury. Many Princes spend lakhs of their people's money on buying race horses. What steps should our new governments take to check this evil?

A. There is no doubt whatsoever about the evil. The good it is supposed to do is extremely doubtful. And at this time of growing distress in the country it is criminal. The new national governments can do a great deal to check the evil. But let us recognize their limitations. Being popular, i. e. people's governments, they will never be able to go far in advance of popular opinion. That is specially a function belonging to reformers. But these governments can certainly, by their own example, rob the evil of the stamp of fashion that the bureaucracy has set upon it even to the point of wasting public money on the luxury. The Princes will copy the example of good manners that the national governments may set.

Q. We find that the Congress is reluctant to select women representatives on a large scale for elective bodies. It is surely just and necessary that more women are taken into the various bodies. How would you deal with the question?

A. I am not enamoured of equality or any other proportion in such matters. Merit should be the only test. Seeing however that it has been the custom to decry women, the contrary custom should be to prefer women, merit being equal, to men even if the preference should result in men being entirely displaced by women. It would be a dangerous thing to insist on membership on the ground merely of sex. Women and for that matter any group should disdain patronage. They should seek justice, never favours. Therefore, the proper thing is for women as indeed for men to advance the spread not of English or Western education among them but such education on general lines through their provincial languages as will fit them for the numerous duties of citizenship. For men to take a lead in this much needed reform would be not a matter of favour but a simple act of belated justice due to women.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

WEEKLY LETTER—I

FIVE DAYS IN BOMBAY

WHAT IS BEAUTIFUL?

"Won't you ask people to grow flowers on a small piece of land? Colour and beauty is necessary to the soul as food is to the body," asked Agatha Harrison twitting Gandhiji on his suggestion to Seth Rameshwardas Birla to dig up the flower beds in his terrace garden in Birla House, Bombay, and grow vegetables instead. "No," replied Gandhiji. "I won't. Why can't you see the beauty of colour in vegetables? And then, there is beauty in the speckless sky. But no, you want the colours of the rainbow which is a mere optical illusion. We have been taught to believe that what is beautiful need not be useful and what is useful cannot be beautiful. I want to show that what is useful can also be beautiful." And so the vegetables were planted where flowers grew and I do not think that anybody's aesthetic sense has suffered any loss as a result.

A MOMENTOUS STEP

The same passion for essentials and utter indifference to the outward trappings was reflected in his insistence on drafting the resolutions for the Working Committee this time in Hindustani, an English translation being provided alongside for the convenience of those members who did not know Hindustani well enough. The Congress President was enthusiastic over the change. He took a momentous step when he decided that hereafter all the resolutions of the Working Committee shall be in Hindustani in the first instance and the original Hindustani text would be made available to the Press. The chief difficulty is about transmission over the wires. For the time being it can only be overcome by putting Hindustani messages into Roman script. It is a pity and a shame that our news services are not equipped for transmission of news in Hindustani. Any news service agency that sets up an inland telegraphic news service in Hindustani will steal a big march over its rivals. One news agency, I understand, intends doing so.

IN THE EVENING OF HIS LIFE

Although the bulk of his time during his five days' stay in Bombay was taken up with work in connection with the Working Committee's meetings, he found time to introduce to the Bombay public his latest born, i. e., the project of establishing a Nature Cure Centre for the poor. "What has been a hobby with me for the last fifty years has now become a passion," he remarked in a letter to the Sardar recently. "If I find that I have a talent for the service of the poor and do not make full use of it I shall be set down as a fool," he remarked to another friend. And so at seventysix in the evening of his life, he has decided to add one more to his many activities.

WHAT IS NATURE CURE ?

And why has it gripped him like this ? He explained the difference between the Nature Cure system of his conception and the other systems of cure to a casual visitor who saw him at Birla House. "In the case of the ordinary method of treatment the patient comes to the doctor to take drugs that would cure him. The doctors prescribe the drug. With the relief of abnormal symptoms in the patient his function ends and with that his interest in the patient. The Nature Cure man does not 'sell a cure' to the patient. He teaches him the right way of living in his home which would not only cure him of his particular ailment but also save him from falling ill in future. The ordinary doctor or *vaidya* is interested mostly in the study of disease. The nature curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. Nature Cure is thus a way of life, not a course of 'treatment'."

"It is not claimed." he explained to the prayer gathering audience at Rungta House, "that Nature Cure can cure all disease. No system of medicine can do that or else we should all be immortals. But it enables one to face and bear down with unperturbed equanimity and peace of mind an illness which it cannot cure. If once we decide that what cannot be shared by the millions should be taboo for us, we are driven to nature as the only cure — all for the rich and the poor alike."

THE MOST POTENT WEAPON

In the armoury of the Nature Curist *Ramanam* is the most potent weapon. "Let no one wonder at it," he remarked. "A noted Ayurvedic physician told me the other day, 'All my life I have been administering drugs. But since you have prescribed *Ramanam* as a cure for physical ailments, it has occurred to me that what you say has too the authority of Vaghbhata and Charaka.' The recitation of *Ramanam* as a remedy for spiritual ailments is as old as the hills. But the greater includes the less. And my claim is that the recitation of *Ramanam* is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also. A Nature Cure man won't tell the patient: 'Invite me and I shall cure you of your ailment.' He will only tell about the all-healing principle that is in every being and how one can cure oneself by evoking it and making it an active force in his life. If India could realize the power of that principle not only would we be free, but we would be a land of healthy individuals too — not the land of epidemics and ill health that we are today."

ITS USE AND LIMITATION

"The potency of *Ramanam* is however subject to certain conditions and limitations," he proceeded, "*Ramanam* is not like black magic. If some one suffers from surfeit and wants to be cured of its after effects so that he can again indulge himself at the table, *Ramanam* is not for him. *Ramanam* can be used only for a good, never for an evil end, or else thieves and robbers would be the greatest devotees. *Ramanam* is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure. It can never be a means for self-indulgence. The remedy for surfeit is fasting, not prayer. Prayer can come in only when fasting has done its work. It can make fasting easy and bearable. Similarly the taking of *Ramanam* will be a meaningless farce when at the same time you are drugging your system with medicines. A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vices of his patient degrades himself and his patient. What worse degradation can there be for man than that instead of regarding his body as an instrument of worshipping his Maker he should make it the object of adoration and waste money like water to keep it going anyhow. *Ramanam*, on the other hand, purifies while it cures, and therefore it elevates. Therein lies its use as well as its limitation."

THE DISTURBANCES

The embers of the recent disturbances were still hot under the feet when Gandhiji visited Bombay. His first utterance before the evening prayer gathering at Rungta House therefore naturally referred to those events. It was a scathing denunciation of the policy of taking refuge in the "ambiguous middle" when the occasion required boldly speaking out and effective action.

The long deferred Shivaji Park meeting which he was to have addressed on the 9th of August 1942, but could not owing to his arrest at the dawn of the 8th, was a much bigger affair. The audience numbered over two lakhs. But such was the excellence of the arrangements and the discipline of the crowd that Gandhiji's speech was heard amid pin-drop silence. Its theme was 'Satyagraha as the art of living and dying' and its relation to prayer. The text of both the addresses will be found reproduced elsewhere in these columns.

AT URULI KANCHAN

Gadhiji did not stay for many days in the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona on his return from Bombay. Uruli Kanchan into which Gandhiji moved on the afternoon of the 22 nd inst. is a small station on the Sholapur-Poona line with a population of about 3,000. It has a railway telegraph office and a post office but no telephone. The mail and the express trains do not stop here. The climate is good, the air bracing. There is a plentiful supply of filtered water from the military camp water works nearby. The locality grows fruits like the grape, orange and *papaiya* in profusion.

A few days back a deputation of nearly all the leading men of the place had waited on Gandhiji at the Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, to request him to establish his proposed Nature Cure Centre for the poor there. They promised to provide enough land for the purpose and their full co-operation besides donating Rs. 10,000/- to the Nature Cure Trust for the experiment at Uruli. Shri Datar, a retired railway contractor, vacated his bungalow and offered it for Gandhiji's temporary residence.

Congregational prayer was held on the very first day at the outskirt of the village, the mass singing of *Ramadhun* being introduced here as in other places. Taking as his text the hymn that had been sung Gandhiji presented *Ramanam* to the village folk assembled there as a natural therapeutic No. 1 for the cure of bodily ailments: "In the song that we have just sung the devotee says:

'O Hari, You are the reliever of the people's distress.' The promise here is universal. It is not qualified or restricted to any particular kind of ailment." He told them of the conditions of success. The efficacy of *Ramanam* would depend on whether it was or was not

backed by a living faith. "If you are subject to anger, eat and sleep for indulgence, not solely for sustenance, you do not know the meaning of *Ramanam*. Your recitation of it is mere lip service. *Ramanam* to be efficacious must absorb your entire being during its recitation and express itself in your whole life."

FIRST PATIENTS

Patients began to come in from the next morning. There were about thirty of them. Gandhiji examined five or six of them and prescribed to them all more or less the same treatment with slight variations, according to the nature of each case, i. e. recitation of *Ramanam*, sun bath, friction and hip baths, a simple eliminative diet of milk, buttermilk, fruit and fruit juices with plenty of clean fresh water to drink. "It has truly been observed," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that all mental and physical ailments are due to one common cause. It is therefore but natural that there should be a common remedy for them too. There is a unity of cure as there is in disease. The *Shastras* say so. Therefore, I prescribed *Ramanam* and almost the same treatment to all the patients who came to me this morning. But we have a knack of explaining away the *Shastras* in life when they do not suit our convenience. We have deluded ourselves into the belief that the *Shastras* are meant only for the benefit of the soul in the life to come, that the end of *Dharma* is to acquire merit after death. I do not share that view. If *Dharma* has no practical use in this life, it has none for me in the next.

"There is hardly anyone in this world who is completely free from ailment whether bodily or mental. For some of these there is no earthly cure. For instance, *Ramanam* cannot perform the miracle of restoring to you a lost limb. But it can perform the still greater miracle of helping you to enjoy an ineffable peace in spite of the loss while you live and rob death of its sting and the grave its victory at the journey's end. Since death must come soon or late to everyone, why should one worry over the time."

THIS IS MY INDIA

The number of patients increased from 30 to 43 on the third day. "This is good," remarked Gandhiji, "because it shows that those who need Nature Cure treatment are coming forward to avail themselves of it." If the work proceeded according to plan, he explained at the evening prayer gathering, he intended to stay for at least four months in the year in their midst. During his absence his colleagues would continue to direct and guide them according to his instructions. "The practice of nature cures does not require high academic qualifications or much erudition. Simplicity is the essence of universality. Nothing that is meant for the benefit of the millions requires much erudition. The latter can be acquired only by the few and therefore can benefit the rich only. But India lives in her seven lakhs of villages — obscure, tiny, out-of-the-way villages, where the population in some cases hardly exceeds a few hundred, very often not even a few score. I would like to go and settle down in some such village. That is real India, my India, for which I live. You cannot take to these humble people the paraphernalia of highly qualified doctors and hospital epuipment. In simple natural remedies and *Ramanam* lies their only hope."

He had been told that there was hardly any disease in Uruli. Probably what was meant was that no epidemic was prevalent, that being the popular conception of disease. But from the cases that had come to him during the last two days it was clear that ill health there was in plenty in Uruli. "If you do as I ask you to," he told the villagers, "Uruli will become an ideal village, to see which people will come from far."

He then proceeded to give them his first discourse on Nature Cure principles. The following is its gist.

NATURE CURE EXPOUNDED

"Man's physical body is composed of five natural elements, i. e. air, water, earth, fire or *tejas* (the energizing principle) and ether (space). The soul quickens it.

"The most essential of these is air. Man can live without food for several weeks, without water for some time, but without air he cannot live for more than a few minutes. God has therefore made air universally available. Shortages of food or water there may be at times but of air never. In spite of it we foolishly deprive ourselves of God's blessing of fresh and pure air by sleeping within doors with doors and windows shut. One may shut the doors and windows if he is afraid of thieves at night. But why should one shut oneself up?

"To get fresh air, one must sleep in the open. But it is no good sleeping in the open only to breathe dust and dirt-laden air. The place where you sleep must be free from both. Some people cover their faces as a protection against dust and cold. It is a remedy worse than the disease. Then there is the evil habit of breathing through the mouth. Mouth is the organ of ingestion. It is not the organ of breathing. The air passing through the nasal passages is filtered and purified and at the same time warmed up before it enters the lungs.

"Anyone who fouls the air by spitting about carelessly, throwing refuse and rubbish or otherwise dirtying the ground, sins against man and nature. Man's body is the temple of God. Anyone who fouls the air that is to enter that temple desecrates it. He takes the name of *Rama* in vain."

In the end he warned them that they should be prepared to find in him a hard taskmaster. If he stayed in their midst he would neither spare himself nor them. He would visit their homes, inspect their streets, their drains, their kitchens, their latrines. He would tolerate neither dust nor dirt anywhere.

Uruli, 23-3-'46 PYARELAL

By M. K. Gandhi

Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government (1942–44)

Price Rs. 2-8-0, Postage 7 Annas

The Indian States' Problem

Price Rs. 4, Postage 13 Annas

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Price Rs. 6, Postage 13 Annas

Satyagraha in South Africa

(Companion Volume to the above)

Price 4-8-0, Postage 11 Annas

Hind Swaraj

Price 0-8-0, Postage 2 Annas

By Pyarelal

Status of Indian Princes

Price 0-4-0, Postage 2 Annas

HARIJAN

April 7 1946

IMPLICATIONS OF 'QUIT INDIA'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In terms of non-violence 'Quit India' is a healthy, potent cry of the soul. It is not a slogan. It means the end, through means purely truthful and non-violent, of foreign rule and domination. It does not mean the foreigner's destruction but his willing conversion to Indian life. In this scheme there is no room for hatred of the foreigner. He is a man, even as we are. It is fear of him that gives rise to hatred. Fear gone, there can be no hatred.

Thus his conversion implies our conversion too. If we cease to be inferiors, he cannot be our superior. His arsenals and his weapons, typified in their extreme in the atom bomb, should have no terror for us. It follows that we may not covet them. We often make the mistake of thinking that we must first have things before we cease to covet them. This tempting argument leads to the prolongation of the agony. Must I do all the evil I can, before I learn to shun it? Is it not enough to know the evil to shun it? If not, we should be sincere enough to admit that we love evil too well to give it up.

Let us assume that foreign rule is ended. What should the foreigner do? He could hardly be considered free when he was protected by British arms. As a free man, he will discover that it was wrong to possess privileges which the millions of India could not enjoy. He will live doing his duty as behoves a son of India. He will no longer live at India's expense. On the contrary, he will give India all his talents and by his services render himself indispensable to the land of his adoption.

If this is true of the European, how much more true must it be for those Anglo-Indians and others who have adopted European manners and customs in order to be classed as Europeans demanding preferential treatment? All such people will find themselves ill at ease, if they expect continuation of the favoured treatment hitherto enjoyed by them. They should rather feel thankful that they will be disburdened of preferential treatment to which they had no right by any known canon of reasoning and which was derogatory to their dignity.

We have all — rulers and ruled — been living so long in a stifling unnatural atmosphere that we might well feel in the beginning that we have lost the lungs for breathing the invigorating ozone of freedom. If the reality comes in an orderly, that is a non-violent manner because the parties feel that it is right, it will be a revealing lesson for the world.

Uruli, 29-3-'46

HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have no doubt in my mind that Hindustani, i. e. a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu, is the National language. But I have not yet been able to prove this in my own writings or speech. Let not readers of 'Harijansevak', however, be irritated. Perhaps it is as well that the attempt to create a national language has come into the hands of an inadept. After all the general mass of people come in this category. It will be through the efforts of all such that linguistic *pandits* will be enabled to create the proper mixture, easily understood by all. If readers of 'Harijansevak' will keep on pointing out mistakes in language, it will help the journal to create and maintain a proper style. It will be the aim of 'Harijansevak' to make its language sweet to the ear and easily understandable to every Indian. A language which is not generally understood is useless. It is unreal if it cannot serve its purpose. All attempts at having a forced language have proved futile.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

IS NETAJI ALIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some years ago it was announced in the newspapers that Subhas Chandra Bose had died. I believed the report. Later the news was proved to have been incorrect. Since then I have had a feeling that Netaji could not leave us until his dream of Swaraj had been fulfilled. To lend strength to this feeling was the knowledge of Netaji's great ability to hoodwink his enemies and even the world for the sake of his cherished goal. These were the only reasons for my belief that he was alive.

I have not the ability for foretelling the future. I have no strength except what comes from insistence on truth. Non-violence too springs from the same insistence. God alone knows absolute truth. Therefore, I have often said, Truth is God. It follows that man, a finite being, cannot know absolute truth. Therefore, I had nothing but my instinct to tell me that Netaji was alive. No reliance can be placed on such unsupported feeling.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence to counteract the feeling. The British Government is party to that evidence. Capt. Habibur Rahman has said he was present at the time of Netaji's death and has brought back his charred wrist watch. Another of his companions Shri Iyer met and told me that my instinct was wrong and I should abandon the feeling that Subhas Chandra was alive. In the face of these proofs I appeal to everyone to forget what I have said and believing in the evidence before them reconcile themselves to the fact that Netaji has left us. All man's ingenuity is as nothing before the might of the One God. He alone is Truth and nothing else stands.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

WITH AN ENGLISH FRIEND

An English friend who visited Gandhiji during his stay at Sodepur dropped a remark which set Gandhiji off to describe some of his experiences of the disability attaching to colour in South Africa. The question deeply interested the friend. He thought that it was perhaps at its worst in South Africa. Gandhiji, however, was doubtful. He feared it was probably as bad in America. The friend who had actually gone down to Richmond "to have a flavour of the South" could not gainsay the force of Gandhiji's remark but contended that the extraordinary conditions there presented a peculiar problem. "I can understand the American prejudice against the Negro," he added.

RACE PREJUDICE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA

"Arguing on those lines," replied Gandhiji, "you will be able to understand the prejudice in South Africa too. The root cause — a false notion of preservation of the race and economic status — is common to both. The difference is only one of degree. If you apply concrete facts to individual cases it is half a dozen of one and six of the other. It is on a par with the racial prejudice here."

"Oh, no. Here it is much less."

Gandhiji: "Yes, owing to the vast disparity in numbers. But take the case of the individual who actually suffers. His experience does not differ from that of the coloured man in South Africa or America."

The friend agreed. "We, Englishmen are apt to forget that side of the question," he remarked.

"Habit becomes second nature. There may be no deliberate intention either," replied Gandhiji.

"In the Punjab and Delhi," resumed the friend, "races mix much more freely than elsewhere." Was that due to the fact that the disparity in numbers was comparatively less there?

Gandhiji was of opinion that the contrast presented by Bengal in this respect was perhaps due to the violent spirit having manifested itself there on a much larger scale than in Delhi or in the Punjab. The Punjab did show the violent spirit in some measure. But it was not a patch upon Bengal. The daring of the Chittagong Armoury Raid was neither attempted nor duplicated anywhere else.

"I have often thought over it," remarked the friend, "and it has always baffled me how these Bengali young men, so gentle by nature, have drifted into violence."

THE SPECTRE OF VIOLENCE

"I have solved it for myself," replied Gandhiji. "They feel they have been unjustly libelled in the past. Lord Curzon harped upon their softness. It soured them. So they say, 'We may not be wealthy, but surely we are not effeminate.' So they adopted this devious method and surpassed every other province in daring. They defied death, defied poverty and even public opinion. I have discussed this question of violence threadbare with so many terrorists and anarchists. It is terrible whether the Arab does it or the Jew. It is a bad outlook for the world, if this spirit of violence takes hold of the mass mind. Ultimately in destroying itself it destroys the race."

"And it has spread all over the world for the last two or three years," interpolated the friend.

Gandhiji resumed: "Look at the latest ukase of Gen. MacArthur. He has divided the entire Japanese nation into two categories, those whom he calls war criminals and those who do not come under that label. As I read it, it struck me that this was not the best way to introduce democracy among the Japanese — a race so proud, so sensitive, so highly organized along Western lines. They will do what the Italians did in Garibaldi's time on a much larger scale. You cannot deal with the human race on these lines. Whatever happens in one part of the world will affect the other parts. The world has so shrunk."

IS THE WORLD GOING BACK?

This evoked from the friend the observation that he did not think that the world had deteriorated so much theoretically as it might have during the last three years. Gandhiji agreed with him though his grounds, he remarked, were different.

"My reason for that belief," continued the friend, "is that in spite of the fact that suffering, for instance, in Indonesia and elsewhere has been appalling during the last three years, the human mind has not been equally warped."

Gandhiji: "My hope is based on a detached view of the situation. Whilst in detention in the Aga Khan Palace I had leisure to read and think. What struck me was that whilst practice showed deterioration the mind of men had very much progressed. Practice has not been able to keep pace with the mind. Man has begun to say, 'This is wrong, that is wrong.' Whereas previously he justified his conduct, he now no longer justifies his own or his neighbour's. He wants to set right the wrong but does not know that his own practice fails him. The contradiction between his thought and conduct fetters him. His conduct is not governed by logic. Then, of course, there is my standing prediction in favour of non-violence that it will prevail — whatever man may or may not do. That keeps my optimism alive. Extensive personal experience too confirms my belief that non-violence is self-acting. It will have its way and overcome all obstacles irrespective of the shortcomings of the instruments. "It makes no difference," he concluded, "how we arrive at our conclusion, but it keeps us fresh and green."

LIVING UP TO 125 YEARS

The conversation next tured upon Gandhiji's pet theme of living up to 125 years. Gandhiji's visitor wanted to know how he managed to keep physically fit. Gandhiji replied that outwardly he owed his physical fitness to strict adherence to regular habits in eating, drinking and sleeping and to his partiality for nature cure principles which he had adopted strictly in life since 1901. Reminiscently he described how up till 1901 he used the medicine bottle but had almost thrown it away,

and for fortyfive years he had lived more or less according to nature cure principles.

"But in a still greater measure," emphasized Gandhiji, "it is due to the practice, of detachment of mind. By detachment I mean that one must not worry whether the desired result follows from your action or not, so long as your motive is pure, your means correct. Really, it means that things will come right in the end if you take care of the means and leave the rest to Him. "He based his belief on the teachings of the *Bhagawad Gita* which he had called his "dictionary of action".

The friend remarked on the close analogy between the teaching of the *Bhagawad Gita* and the thesis presented in Aldous Huxley's "Ends and Means". The mention of Aldous Huxley's name revived in Gandhiji's mind memories of old days about Aldous Huxley's father whose writings he used to read during his student days in London in 1889.

"But there is a physical side all the same?" questioned the friend.

Gandhiji : "Yes, only I attach greater importance to the mental. What you think you become. Thought is never complete unless it finds expression in action and action limits your thought. It is only when there is a perfect accord between the two that there is full, natural life."

ALCHEMY OF DETACHMENT

"But what about the legacy of one's past life? It cannot be written off the balance sheet."

"I have my answer for that," replied Gandhiji. "If my past conduct does not warrant the full span of life, no matter however correct my present life may be, I can still counteract the effect of past mistakes by attaining complete detachment between the mind and the body. Detachment enables one to overcome the effects of past faulty practice as well as handicaps of heredity and environment. Normally speaking, every deviation from the rule of nature, whether ignorant or wilful, e, g. anger, ill temper, impatience, errors in conjugal life, exacts its toll. But there is this promise that if you have arrived at complete detachment you can rub out all these. 'Except ye be born again, ye cannot have everlasting life.' Conversely, you can have everlasting life if you are 'born again'. There is no hurdle placed before death. You can turn over a new leaf and begin life anew here and now; the past will not disturb its tenor provided you have completely severed yourself from it and its legacy by the axe of detachment."

LIFE AS SACRAMENT

As I listened to the argument I was reminded of a passage in the Upanishads which Pandit Malaviyaji had recited to Gandhiji when they last met at Benares on the occasion of the convocation ceremony of the Kashi Vishvavidyalaya. In that passage the various periods in man's life are likened to the various sacrificial rituals enjoined in the different periods of the day on the householder. If a person eats, drinks, laughs and lives, not for the satisfaction of the senses but for service only and to glorify God, his life becomes a veritable cycle of sacrifice which disease or death dare not interrupt. Hunger, thirst and self-denial of such a person will correspond to the *Diksha* (initiation) of the sacrificer; eating, drinking and recreation to *Upasada*, i. e. the nourishment taken at the time of the breaking of the fast to prevent the vital air from going out; laughter and enjoyment to the hymn of praise to the Lord of Sacrifice which the sacrificer chants.

On the previous occasion when this friend had visited Gandhiji, Gandhiji had done all the talking and the friend had listened. This time Gandhiji had intended that he would only speak in answer to questions and let the friend do the talking but the friend again had the better of his resolve.

"I admit defeat. After all you are a practised journalist," Gandhiji remarked, discomfited, at the end of their talk.

"I am only human," replied the friend as he took leave with a warm handshake.

Poona, 2-3-'46 PYARELAL

CONSTRUCTIVE NON-VIOLENCE

The Friends Ambulance Unit is a war time organization which first came into being in 1914. In 1939 its scope was extended and it was organized again "to give men and women holding pacifist views the opportunity to serve during war time by relieving suffering and distress".

Akin to F. A. U. is the American Friends Service Committe. It represents the Meeting of the Society of Friends in North America. It was organized in 1917. Since then it has been attempting "through practical service in relief and reconstruction, to demonstrate the Quaker belief in the power of love and goodwill to develop kinship and understanding between peoples". It was the late Pierre Cerresole who tried to work out on an international scale the idea of combating war through constructive non-violence by organizing the International Voluntary Service for Peace. His work in pursuance of this ideal in Bihar after the great earthquake in 1934 is well known, Following his trail, members of the F. A. U. came to India from England in June 1942 and devoted themselves to the alleviation of destruction caused by the Midnapore cyclone of 1942 and the Bengal Famine of 1943. They were joined by members of the American Friends Service Committee in May 1944. Since then the two have been working as a single agency. Their activity included operating food canteens and orphanages for children, organizing and supervizing milk canteens, providing medical relief, setting up industrial centres in devastated areas to provide employment to the destitute and forming fishermens', weavers' and agricultural co-operatives. Their general plan is to "work through Indian organization as much as possible", it being their belief that "they will have achieved success in any project only when they have made themselves unnecessary to its continuance".

With the threat of an India-wide famine in the offing, the Friends Ambulance Unit has again begun to organize for action. "As outsiders we hope we can play a useful part by providing a link between

the people and the Government," said Horace Alexander to Gandhiji, whom he accompanied to Poona to renew contact with him after a period of nearly four years. "The Government is not suspicious of us and they have the reassurance that we won't suspect their motives. What is more, we are not regarded with suspicion by the people as the Government is. If you think that we should go ahead you might say something which would encourage and help us and also strengthen the hands of our agents in America in obtaining an adequate quota of food supplies." Gandhiji in reply commended the example of Ruey Alley, the New Zealander and his companion George Hogg in connection with the organization of Indusco in China. Although they were foreigners they inspired the Chinese with self-confidence. There was, of course, the other side of the picture too. As for F. A. U.'s plan of work for the prevention of famine, while generally approving of it, Gandhiji did not like the idea of what he called "begging for food from outside". "If food comes it would be welcome. But we should not depend on it. India is the granary of the East and now she has to go a-begging for food to America and other countries. I do not like this. Somehow or other, if we rely on self-help, strength comes, we do not know from where. Probably it comes from the original source and people feel they need not die. Moreover, arrival of food in the ports by itself would not solve the problem unless it is made available where it is most needed. Distribution is the real problem. Unless it is tackled there is danger that the food will rot in the ports while people are dying in the interior. At present it seems almost a hopeless task through the present corruption. A Government official sent a note the other day showing how it would be at least two months between the arrival of the food ships in the ports and the food actually reaching the affected areas. In the meantime what are the people to do? I have, therefore, suggested that they should utilize the subsoil water to grow whatever they can by their own effort. If crores take up the cue, they can do much to save themselves even before the food arrives from outside."

Horace next told Gandhiji that the F. A. U. are developing work of a more permanent nature for the upliftment of Bengal villages. For instance, they are trying to attack the problem of poverty from four or five different angles simultaneously. They had discussed the question with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had approved of the idea for two reasons. "With the coming of freedom, he felt, we might help in post war economic rehabilitation so that the high expectations entertained by the people of the national government might not be belied. Besides, a body of people from the West serving the people here would act as an antidote to racial feeling which might otherwise oversweep the country in the first flush of freedom." Gandhiji agreed entirely with Pandit Nehru. "Any person who does such work is worth his weight in gold," he said. He shared Pandit Nehru's fear too. "Pandit Nehru has done well to point to the danger signal," he added. But he felt that the danger was even deeper. The face of the picture as he viewed it seemed horrifying. The feeling towards Europeans was rising all through the East. There were so many complex forces working on the mass mind. If the maelstrom broke out the F. A. U. might have to bear the brunt of it. They must be prepared for that sacrifice. But whilst they should be prepared for the worst he wanted them to share with him the hope that all would be well in the end. "To see the danger clearly and yet to remain unperturbed in the face of it, trusting to God's goodness, is true wisdom," he concluded.

Uruli, Saturday, 23-3-'46 PYARELAL

SATYAGRAHA — THE ART OF LIVING AND DYING

At the mammoth gathering numbering over two lakhs in Shivaji Park on 14-3-'46, Gandhiji delivered an important address in Hindustani, of which the following is the gist:

"The singing of *Ramadhun* is the most important part of congregational prayer. The millions may find it difficult to correctly recite and understand the Gita verses and the Arabic and *Zend Avesta* prayers, but everybody can join in chanting *Ramanam* or God's name. It is as simple as it is effective. Only it must proceed from the heart. In its simplicity lies its greatness and the secret of its universality. Anything that millions can do together becomes charged with a unique power.

"I congratulate you on your success in the mass singing of *Ramadhun* without any previous training. But it is capable of further improvement. You should practise it in your homes. I am here to testify that when it is sung in tune to the accompaniment of *tal*, the triple accord of the voice, the accompaniment and thought creates an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness and strength which no words can describe.

"I introduced the practice of having congregational prayer some time before the commencement of the South African Satyagaraha struggle. The Indian community there was faced with a grave peril. We did all that was humanly possible. All methods of seeking redress, agitation through the press and the platform, petitions and deputations, were tried but proved of no avail. What was the Indian community consisting of a mere handful of illiterate indentured labourers mostly, with a sprinkling of free merchants, hawkers etc. to do in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Negroes and Whites? The Whites were fully armed. It was clear that if the Indians were to come into their own, they must forge a weapon which would be different from and infinitely superior to the force which the White settlers commanded in such ample measure. It was then that I introduced congregational prayer in Phœnix and Tolstoy Farm as a means for a training in the use of the weapon of Satyagraha or soul force.

"The root of Satyagraha is in prayer. A Satyagrahi relies upon God for protection against the tyranny of brute force. Why should you then be always afraid of

the British or anybody playing you false? If someone deceives you, he will be the loser. The fight of Satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. Satyagraha teaches us the art of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals. What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within. The last eighteen verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* which are recited at the prayer give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living. It is given there in the form of a description of a *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady wisdom i.e. a Satyagrahi, in reply to Arjun's query to Lord Krishna.

"The art of dying follows as a corollary from the art of living. Death must come to all. A man may die of a lightning stroke or as a result of heart failure or failure of respiration. But that is not the death that a Satyagrahi can wish for or pray for himself. The art of dying for a Satyagrahi consists in facing death cheerfully in the performance of one's duty. That is an art which the people of Bombay apparently have not yet learnt. It is not enough not to want to hurt or take the life of your enemy. You are no Satyagrahis if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands in India learnt that art, the face of India would be changed and no one would be able to point his finger of scorn at her non-violence as being a cloak for weakness. We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings on the hooligan elements. We would convert and control the hooligan elements too.

"We are passing through a crisis in our history. Danger besets us on all sides. But we shall convert it into our opportunity if we realize the power of Satyagraha than which there is nothing more potent on earth."

Uruli, 24-3-'46 PYARELAL

FOR SHAME!

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech at Rungta House prayer gathering in Bombay on the evening of 11-3-'46.

"The news of the recent events in Bombay has filled me with shame and humiliation as it must have you too. Let me hope that none of those who are here took part in these disgraceful happenings. But that alone would not entitle you to my congratulations. We have reached a stage when nobody can afford to sit on the fence or take refuge in the 'ambiguous middle'. One has to speak out and stand up for one's convictions. Inaction at a time of conflagration is inexcusable. Is it too difficult an ideal to follow? Let me tell you, however, that this is the only course that will take us safely through the present difficult times.

No Moral Alibis

"It has become the fashion these days to ascribe all such ugly manifestations to the activities of hooligans. It hardly becomes us to take refuge in that moral alibi. Who are the hooligans after all? They are our own countrymen and so long as any countryman of ours indulges in such acts we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people. It matters little whether those who were responsible for the happenings are denounced as *goonda*s or praised as patriots — praise and blame must equally belong to us all. The only manly and becoming course for those who are aspiring to be free is to accept either whilst doing our duty.

"The Way of the Lord"

"In eating, sleeping and in the performance of other physical functions, man is not different from the brute. What distinguishes him from the brute is his ceaseless striving to rise above the brute on the moral plane. Mankind is at the cross roads. It has to make its choice between the law of the jungle and the law of humanity. We in India deliberately adopted the latter twentyfive years back but I am afraid that whilst we profess to follow the higher way our practice has not always conformed to our profession. We have always proclaimed from the housetops that non-violence is the way of the brave but there are some amongst us who have brought *ahimsa* into disrepute by using it as a weapon of the weak. In my opinion, to remain a passive spectator of the kind of crimes that Bombay has witnessed of late is cowardice. Let me say in all humility that *ahimsa* belongs to the brave. Pritam has sung: "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." By the way of the Lord is here meant the way of non-violence and truth. I have said before that I do not envisage God other than truth and non-violence. If you have accepted the doctrine of *ahimsa* without a full realization of its implications you are at liberty to repudiate it. I believe in confessing one's mistakes and correcting them. Such confession strengthens one and purifies the soul. *Ahimsa* calls for the strength and courage to suffer without retaliation, to receive blows without returning any. But that does not exhaust its meaning. Silence becomes cowardice when occasion demands speaking out the whole truth and acting accordingly. We have to cultivate that courage, if we are to win India's independence through truth and non-violence as proclaimed by the Congress. It is an ideal worth living for and dying for. Every one of you who has accepted that ideal should feel that inasmuch as a single English woman or child is assaulted it is a challenge to your creed of non-violence and you should protect the threatened victim even at the cost of your life. Then alone you will have the right to sing "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." To attack defenceless English women and children because one has a grievance against the present Government hardly becomes a human being.

To Suspect Is Unmanly

"The British Cabinet Ministers' Delegation will soon be in our midst. To suspect their *bona fides* in advance would also be a variety of weakness. As brave people it is our duty to take at its face value the declaration of the British Ministers that they are coming to restore to India what is her due. If a debtor came to your house in contrition to repay his debt, would it not be your duty to welcome him? On the other hand, would it not be unmanly to treat him with insult and humiliation in remembrance of past injustice? Let the British Government prove for the final time that they do not mean to act according to their professions. It will be time to act, if they do so. Till then the only manly course is to maintain dignified silence."

PYARELAL

WEEKLY LETTER—II

No Longer Mercenary

In Uruli there is a big military camp. Hardly a day passed after Gandhiji's arrival in Uruli when a group of Indian military men did not contact him. They met him during his morning walks, they were at his evening prayer gatherings, but particularly interesting were the two batches who saw him at his residence.

"We are soldiers," they said apologetically and added, "but we are soldiers of Indian freedom."

"I am glad to hear that", replied Gandhiji. "For, so far you have mostly been instrumental in the suppression of Indian freedom. Have you heard of Jallianwala Bagh?"

"Oh, yes. But those days are past. We were in those days like the proverbial frog-in-the-well. We have now seen the world, our eyes have been opened."

"We admit we are mercenaries," interpolated another. "But our hearts are no longer so." The reference was to the use by Gandhiji five or six years ago of the expression 'mercenary', to describe Indian troops.

"I am glad to hear that," answered Gandhiji. "But, let me tell you my use of that expression was not intended to cast any reflection upon you. It was only descriptive of a soldiery that serves a foreign government for a living. My use of that expression at the time brought a hornet's nest round my ears. But I could not withdraw it; I said our present army system should go."

When India Is Independent

"What would be our position when India is Independent," asked still another soldier.

"Why, you will fully share that independence and breathe the air of freedom with your countrymen," replied Gandhiji. But that was not the point of his question. Gandhiji proceeded: "Independent India will have need of you. You have had military training. You will give India the benefit of that training. You have learnt the lesson of camaraderie under common danger. It would be a bad day if the moment that peril is lifted, the lesson is lost."

"But in Free India you won't be pampered as you are today," he continued. "You won't have these lavish privileges with which a foreign government bribes you at the expense of India's poor. India is destitute. You cannot serve her unless you are prepared to share her destitution. I told Captain Shah Nawaz that if the I. N. A. people succumb to the lionization of an India pining for freedom and forget her destitution, they will earn not the blessings but the silent execration of their countrymen. The same applies to you. Unless you are prepared to forego your privileges you will feel sorry when independence comes and sigh for the return of old times and old masters."

A New Ferment

"There was a time," remarked one of them," when we were not allowed to read any civil newspaper. And now we go and tell our officers that we are going to see our greatest leader, and no one dares to stop us."

"I know," replied Gandhiji, "there is a new ferment and a new awakening among all the army ranks today. Not a little of the credit for this happy change belongs to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method but he has rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldier a new vision and a new ideal."

"How anybody can think of dividing India into two, three or more parts, we army men are at a loss to understand. We know only one India for which we have fought and shed our blood," remarked a senior ranker among them.

"Well, it requires all sorts to make the world," replied Gandhiji. And they all laughed.

"May we shout slogans?" they finally asked in a chorus with the naivete and eclat of children.

"Well, you may," replied Gandhiji and there was a deafening roar as they shouted 'Jai Hind', 'Netajiki Jai', and so on repeatedly.

The next day a special train carried about eight hundred of them to another camp. As it passed in front of Gandhiji's residence, from the patriotic exuberance of their slogans, it might as well have been a congress special carrying delegates to an extraordinary session.

In Harijan Quarters

Gandhiji has given the reasons for his deciding to stay in Harijan quarters during his forthcoming visits to Bombay and Delhi. The news from Gujarat had set him furiously thinking. "Your day dawns, they say, from the moment you wake up. Having woken up I cannot now rest. . . ." He wrote to Thakkar Bapa on the nineteenth: "You know, I used to stay in the East End even during the Round Table Conference. East End might be described as the Harijan quarters of London. In the room I occupied there was hardly accomodation enough for two. A chest of drawers was the only furniture — no table, no chairs. One slept on the floor. All around were the slums. And yet Kingsley Hall itself would be called a model of cleanliness." Thakkar Bapa's reply — the inveterate Harijan that he is like Gandhiji himself — was characteristic. He would himself hereafter stay with him in the Harijan quarters!

The Sardar's reaction was equally characteristic. "It will be as you wish," he wrote in reply to Gandhij's letter. "But at present one cannot get enough room in Bombay to bury one's dead and you want fresh accomodation to be improvised for the living!" Wired Devdas Gandhi from New Delhi: Would not Gandhiji, in view of the specific nature of his mission this time, agree to stay with the Birlas as before? But Gandhiji was adamant. The iron had entered into his soul. Even his present mission would be better served from Harijan quarters, he replied. India's slavery under the British rule is hardly two centuries old. Yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we, now that India is on the threshold of the promised land, ask Harijans to subsist on the promise of a distant Utopia? Gandhiji's decision dramatizes his reply to this challenge. The emancipation of Harijans cannot wait. It must be 'now or never'. If in Free India the Harijans still continue to be the underdog his place will be with them.

Test of Bona Fides

Gandhiji was discussing some time back with an English friend the difficult task ahead of the Cabinet Mission. There was an unprecedented upsurge for independence among the masses on the one hand and on the other what he had called "the unholy combination" at bottom among the Hindus and Mussalmans for a joint violent purpose. "I could have understood it if they had combined from top to bottom. That would, of course, have meant delivering India over to the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125 to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames.

"The Mission are coming fresh after a bloody victory," he continued. "They have now an opportunity to add to it the laurels of a bloodless peace. It will be a glorious thing for them and the world if they rise to the occasion and do justice to India even though it might mean reducing themselves (it won't be so in fact) to insignificance. That would be the height of non-violence. But miracles have happened in the world."

"So you believe in miracles?" twitted the friend.

"I do and I do not," replied Gandhiji. "God does not work through miracles. But the divine mind is

revealed in a flash and it appears like a miracle to man. We do not know God, we know Him only through the working of His law. He and His law are one. There is nothing outside His law. Even earthquakes and tempests do not occur without His will — not a blade of grass grows but He wills it. Satan is here only on His sufferance, not independently of Him."

"By justice do you mean that they should agree to withdraw the British army without stipulating any conditions?" asked the friend.

SINISTER?

"I do," unhesitatingly replied Gandhiji. "Freedom will be truly won only when the British army is withdrawn from the whole of India, not excluding Indian States."

"Otherwise, it would be sinister," remarked the friend.

This raises the question of the status of the States in an independent India. There has been of late some loose talk of their claiming independence with the termination of British suzerainty and being free to enter into fresh, independent treaty relations with Great Britain. All this is moonshine. It has been pointed out by eminent jurists that although in *law* the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown, the British Constitution and its Indian auxiliary are so built that the *theory* of Crown relations has no other way of expressing itself than in the *practice* of Government of India relations. In the natural course of events the would-be Free Government of India must inherit and exercise *all* the prerogatives and functions that the Government of India exercises either in its own right or under delegated authority of the Crown, just as the Government of India exercised all the Company's powers when it succeeded the latter in 1858. The theory of "independent treaty States" bearing direct personal allegiance to the British Crown is an exploded myth not worthy of a moment's consideration. To quote from the Butler Committee's report:

> "It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the States came into contact with British Power they were independent. Some were rescued, others were created by the British."

It was Sir Samuel Hoare who outspokenly told the Princes in the House of Commons that paramountcy must remain paramount. The only way in which they could lighten the paramountcy for themselves was by exchanging it with the control of the Federal Government. If they had the most of Federation, they would be under the least of paramountcy. Any attempt to retain the States as pockets of British influence and power or, as Lord Canning — referring to the anxious days of 1857-58 — put it in his famous dispatch, as "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave", would be looked upon by the people of India with the gravest suspicion and render all British *bona fides* unacceptable.

Lastly, the ante-diluvian classification of States into Hindu, Muslim and Shikh States must go by the board. The future complexion of the administration of a State shall be determined only by the composition of its population, not by any vested interest within or outside it. The Princes can retain their present title only as constitutional symbols of sovereignty which must ultimately vest in their subjects. In no other capacity can they claim a place in the councils of an Independent India. To quote the late Prof. Keith:

> "There is in fact no answer to Mr. Gandhi's claim that the princes are bound to follow the Crown in the transfer of authority to the people."

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'46 PYARELAL

KASTURBA SMARAK TRUST

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

There were two meetings at Uruli Kanchan on the 28th, 29th and 30th March; one of the Agents of this Trust and the other of the Executive. The meeting of the Agents was the first of its kind. The Agents had many interesting questions. Why could not the Agents be members of the legislatures? The obvious answer is that if they are to do justice to their work, they should have no time for legislative duties. The decisive reason is that the villagers will have a wrong example set to them, if they have members of legislatures to look up to.

Whatever the sphere of work they choose they should not be nonentities. It should be remembered that the Agents have displaced the committees that were appointed for the last year. If they cover the whole province, they have their work cut out for them. If they cannot cope with it, they have to run model *shibirs* in one or more places to prepare women workers for villages. These may be teachers, nurses, spinners, weavers, sanitarians, etc. Work by women among women in the villages of India is an unbeaten track. Men are hardly fit for it. But the women have so long remained without experience of such work that it is difficult, especially in the initial stages. If the Agents attempt at intensity and confine their activity to certain centres, they will find the work to be simple and instructive.

Then they have their advisers. They are not meant to be ornamental. Their advice should always be at the disposal of the Agents. If they are well-chosen, they must prove towers of strength to the Agents in their difficult task.

The experiment of having women only as Agents is new. It can only succeed if they are wisely guided by the Centre and ably advised by the advisers. Much as it is to be wished that they too were women, the fear is that in the beginning they will be mostly men. The advisers should never aspire to be more than such and never be less. It should be their proud privilege to give the Agents their advice whenever it is sought. The members of the defunct committees, it is hoped, will never feel that they have been displaced for any other reason save the patent and potent one of manning the organization with women from top to bottom. The secret of success in this as in any other organization lies in the spirit of service actuating its every limb and self being subordinated to the organization.

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'49

CONTENTS

			PAGE
QUESTION BOX	...	M. K. GANDHI	67
WEEKLY LETTER — I	...	PYARELAL	67
IMPLICATIONS OF 'QUIT INDIA'		M. K. GANDHI	70
HINDUSTANI	...	M. K. GANDHI	70
IS NETAJI ALIVE?	...	M. K. GANDHI	70
WITH AN ENGLISH FRIEND	...	PYARELAL	71
CONSTRUCTIVE NON-VIOLENCE		PYARELAL	72
SATYAGRAHA — THE ART OF LIVING AND DYING	...	PYARELAL	73
FOR SHAME!	...	PYARELAL	74
WEEKLY LETTER — II	...	PYARELAL	75
KASTURBA SMARAK TRUST	...	M. K. GANDHI	76

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6, six months, Rs. 3. FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh, or $. 3.